

5. Nagy Beáta (1999): Munkahelyi előmenetel. In Pongrácz Tiborné–Tóth István György (szerk.) *Szerepváltozások*. Jelentés a nők és férfiak helyzetéről. TÁRKI–Szociális és Családügyi Minisztérium, Budapest, 30–39.
6. Nagy Beáta (2001) *Női menedzserek*. Budapest: Aula
7. *Nők és férfiak Magyarországon* (2005) KSH, Budapest.
8. Pongrácz Tiborné, S. Molnár Edit (1996): Gyermeket nevelni. In Andorka Rudolf, Kolosi Tamás, Vukovich György (szerk): *Társadalmi Riport*. Táarki, Századvég Kiadó, 332-351.
9. Pongrácz Tiborné (2001): A család és a munka szerepe a nők életében. In *Szerepváltozások*. Jelentés a nők helyzetéről. Táarki-Munkaügyi Minisztérium, Budapest 30-45.
10. *Tárki-Omnibusz* (1998/2,3,4) <http://www.tarki.hu/adatbank-h/nok/abra/image029.html>
11. *Tárki-Omnibusz* (2001/2a) <http://www.tarki.hu/adatbank-h/nok/abra/image054.html> and (2001/2b) <http://www.tarki.hu/adatbank-h/nok/abra/image052.html>

**Szalma, Ivett**

## **Changing opinion in the deliberation<sup>47</sup> groups about state role in the labour market**

### **Introduction**

The goal of the present paper is to analyze how to change the opinion of the participants about the state labour market role in the deliberation groups in Kaposvár and its area. Lots of national studies show that people regard the paternalistic state as ideal (Ferge, 1996; Utasi, 2008). This phenomenon must have its roots in the socialist regime, because the state used to ensure workplace for every citizen, thus the responsibility of the individual was much lower than now. The change of the political era brought a lot of new development in this field: the dissolution of heavy industry, closures of factories and privatizations. This kind of changes triggered the phenomenon of unemployment and the employees began to feel unsafe about keeping their jobs.

At the same time there is a vivid discussion about how to make competitive the economy. Nevertheless the improving of the competitiveness in a lot of cases means to cut back the paternalistic state. This study is going to check the opinion of the participants how to change after the deliberation in the following aspects: security against the layoff, the responsibility of the state in liquidation of the unemployment and providing jobs and abolition of the black job furthermore the government should increase or decrease the taxes and they should first apply the active or the passive instruments to assist the unemployment.

---

<sup>47</sup> Deliberative Polling® is a technique which combines traditional random sampling public opinion polls with deliberation in small group discussions. The main argument behind this technique is that citizens are often underinformed about key public issues, thus traditional public opinion polls represent the public's shallow impressions on an issue. The public, according to the theory of "rational ignorance" in social sciences, does not invest time and effort in acquiring information or establishing a grounded opinion. Deliberative Polling® is aiming to use public opinion research in a new way including the possibility of public consultation. A representative sample of people is first polled on the targeted issues. Then, a sub-sample of the original sample is invited to gather at a single place for a weekend in order to discuss the issue. The participants first receive a balanced briefing material prior to this event in order to gain information on the issue and then engage in dialogue with experts and political leaders based on questions they develop in small group discussions with trained moderators. After the event, the sub-sample is again asked the original questions. The resulting changes in opinion represent the conclusions the public would reach, if people had the opportunity to become more informed and more engaged by the issues (Summary of the Results, 2008).

The peak time of the changes was 1993 when the unemployment rate reached 17% among the active population. After this period the unemployment rate decreased. Being unemployed means financial and psychological difficulties for the individuals, moreover, there is a big chance for staying in that status for a long time in Hungary (Sági, 1997). Those people who cannot find a job for a long time are usually low-educated, living in unfavorable regions and come from bigger families (Spéder, 2002). Some authors call them underclass which refers to their social status: they are poor, low educated and do not have the chance to find a job, and their norms and values differ from the main society. Their only chance to survive is the registration at the Regional Employment Office which provides them some social benefit (Laky, 2001).

It is important to note that the activity rate in Hungary is quite low. Therefore, the real problem is not the high unemployment rate but the low activity rate. This is characteristic of the Hungarian labor market in comparison with other member states of the EU. In 2006 the unemployment rate was 7,5% in Hungary and the mean of the unemployment rate of EU members was 8,2%. With its 53,7% activity rate among 15-64 years old population Hungary came before Poland and Malta in the EU. In the same year the mean of the activity rate was 64,5% in the EU. The activity rate exceeds the target set in Lisbon Agreement - 70% - in the following countries: Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden, Great-Britain and Austria. In international comparison the low activity rate in Hungary is explained by the fact that low educated people have less chance to get a job, and the rate of low educated people is higher than the mean of EU (Girasek-Sik, 2006).

In Hungary there are big differences in unemployment across regions. Kaposvár Small Area is located in Southern Transdanubia in Somogy county. The rate of unemployment was 17% in Somogy County at the end of the 2007 whilst the national average was 10%. Somogy's position is the 4th worst in the country in this respect. Furthermore one third of the unemployment is lasting more than a year which is very unfavorable condition again (Summary of the Results, 2008).

What do people expect from the state? The capitalist regime has been set almost 20 years. As Dahrendorf (1994) elaborated upon this, different spheres pass through the transition phase with different speed: while the fundamentals and institutions of political democracy can, in principle, be enforced in six months, and transition to the market economy can be carried out in six years, the (re)emergence of the values and norms takes a whole generation (60 years). That is why people expect such thing from the state which was characteristic of the socialist regime (paternalistic state, no unemployment) They still need the care of the state continuously. The sociological research showed that people considered the state role as very important in 1990's (Ferge, 1996). Of course not every citizen expects the same extent of the state care and influence of the state on markets. The current sociological researches show that people at risk groups require more state support. They expect that the state provide job opportunities and financial safety for them (Utasi, 2008). In line with this result we also suppose that the lower class would prefer bigger state influence and they put less emphasis on the responsibility of the individuals.

The main goal of this study is shows how change the opinion after the deliberation about the state role in (de)regulation of the labour market, dealing with unemployment rate and illegal work and reducing taxes. What does state regularization mean? The state establishes the frames for operation of the labour market by laws. It determines what kinds of conditions are needed to employ or dismiss the employees. It also defines the commitment of the employers:

what kind of taxes they should pay, how much the rate of the taxes are. It also determines how to handle the illegal work and unemployment issue. The state role is measured by the following questions: *What do people think about the deregulation of the labour market? What do people think: finding job is one's own responsibility or the government should provide jobs for all citizens? What do people think: unemployment cannot be totally avoided vs. unemployment should be avoided at any cost? What do people think: Government should prevent all illegal work vs. Government should not do anything against illegal work? What do people think: Government should cut taxes vs. Government should not spend more on education, health care and pension?* Not just descriptive statistics (percent of the each of answers) will be discussed, but we try to discover the differences of the answers among the social groups (based on demographic character, cultural capital and employment status) by logistic regression model<sup>48</sup>.

Qualitative method is carried out by analyzing two group conversations. The focus will be on that what people think about the state role and how their opinions have changed during the deliberation. Finally we will compare the results of the two methods.

### **Who attended the deliberative weekend?**

First 1514 people were polled on the targeted issue in May of 2008 (T1). This sample was representative for the population of Kaposvár region. In this paper this survey will be referred to as *the representative survey research*. At the end of the questionnaire the respondents had to indicate whether they wished to participate in a deliberative event. 350 people indicated their intention to participate in a deliberative event. All of them were invited to the DP weekend on 21<sup>st</sup> – 22<sup>nd</sup> June, 2008. Finally, 108 persons attended the event. During the deliberation weekend the participants filled in twice the same questionnaire which they were polled in May. First when they arrived they had to fill in questionnaire (T2). We told them that they did not have to recall their answers of the representative survey research in May. We will call this survey research as the pre-deliberation poll as well. Then they filled in the same questionnaires second time after the deliberation (T3). This makes possible to measure the effects of the deliberation. We will call this survey research as the post-deliberation poll.

The sample which filled in the pre- and post-deliberative polls will be called deliberation weekend participants / small groups (as these 108 participating people were put in 15 groups during the weekend). Significant difference was not found in the gender and age structure and the educational background between the two samples (representative survey research; small groups). Meanwhile it can be noticed that lots of people of the deliberation weekend participants have in unfavorable positions: 60 % of them are economically inactive. Those who live in Kaposvár are also overrepresented.

### **Hypothesis**

**H1** People in unfavorable position (the women, the low educated, those who are out of the labor market, the old and those who do not use the internet and do not speak any foreign

---

<sup>48</sup> I decided using logistic regression instead of ordinal regression because the results are simpler to interpret, although there are not too many differences between the results.

language)<sup>49</sup> will object to the deregulation of the labour market. They are more likely to believe that the state should provide job opportunities for every citizen.

**H2** At risk groups will support the passive policies (social benefits) to tackle unemployment. Those of better social status will prefer active policies (encouraging job creation) to tackle unemployment.

**H3** As for illegal work we believe those people who are in favourable position in society will more likely to think that illegal work should be eliminated.

**H4** Related to tax reduction we suppose those people who are in favourable position in the society will support it whilst those people whose position is not favourable prefer tax increases in order to keep social benefits.

## Regulation versus liberalization of the labour market

First we are going to discuss the issue of labour market deregulation. This question was measured on a seven degree scale. The first degree means the respondent strongly agrees with the following statement: *Governments should let employers hire and fire as they see fit*. The seventh (last) degree means the respondent strongly agrees with the following statement: *Governments should make it very difficult for employers to fire*. The results of each questioning sessions are shown in Table 1.

**Table 1.**  
*What do people think about the deregulation of the labour market?*  
*Measured on a 7 degree scale*

1-7 degree scale%	Governments should let employers hire and fire as they see fit. (1-3)	The middle of the scale (4)	Governments should make it very difficult for employers to fire (5-7)	Mean
In the survey research (T1)	8,4%	17,6%	74%	5,7150
Pre-deliberation in the small (T2) groups	12,8%	18,3%	68,8%	5,6422
Post-deliberation in the small groups (T3)	5,5%	16,5%	78%	5,9907

T1 – T2: Statistically not significant change ( $t=1,161$ ,  $p>0,05$ )<sup>50</sup>

T2 – T3: Statistically significant change ( $t=-2,87$   $p<0,05$ )<sup>51</sup>

Table 1. shows data about the deregulation of the labor market in three different time (T1, T2, T3). The results of the representative sample can be found in the first row: the three quarter of the people believe that Governments should make it very difficult for employers to fire. Only less than one tenth think that Government should let employers hire and fire as they see fit. So people prefer the regulation of the labor market a lot in the representative sample.

The second and the third row of the table show the results of the small group before and after the deliberation. Between T1 and T2 no significant changes have occurred. However the deliberation caused significant change in the way the weekend participants think about the deregulation of labor market. Before the deliberation twice as many people said that *the*

<sup>49</sup> Women's position on the labour market is more uncertain than men because while they have small children they have to be out of the labour market because of the lack of child care service and part-time jobs. Those who are over 50 belong to the risk group because the employers prefer to employ younger people. Those who do not have enough cultural capital (do not use internet, do not speak any foreign language and are low educated) are in unfavourable position on the labour market.

<sup>50</sup> Measured by Paired Samples T-test.

<sup>51</sup> Measured by Paired Samples T-test

government should have let employers hire and fire as they see fit than afterwards. After the deliberation the percentage of those people who thought that *government should make it very difficult for employers to fire* increased by 10 percentage points. The author believes this kind of changes have happened because during the deliberation people always talked about the importance of keeping their jobs. Table 2. shows which social-demographic variables have significant effects on choosing one of the statements in the logistic regression model.

**Table 2.**  
*Determinants of the probability of supporting regulation versus deregulation of labor market in logistic regression model<sup>52</sup>*

	All N=1462 (1514)			Pre- Deliberative Poll N=108			Post- Deliberative Poll N=107		
Independent Variables	B	Sig.	Exp (B)	B	Sig.	Exp (B)	B	Sig.	Exp (B)
<b>Gender (Women)</b>	,164	,143	1,178	1,333	<b>,017</b>	3,791	,316	,547	1,371
<b>Level of education*</b>		<b>,036</b>			<b>,017</b>			<b>,028</b>	
Vocational school	,081	,590	1,084	,828	,247	2,289	-,302	,676	,739
Completed Secondary General School	,121	,443	1,129	-,982	,153	,375	-1,209	,085	,298
Tertiary Degree (BA or MA)	-,406	,055	,666	-1,770	,062	,170	-2,656	<b>,006</b>	,070
<b>Employment status**</b>		<b>,002</b>			,375			,862	
Working in full time	-,294	,117	,746	,064	,924	1,066	,532	,430	1,703
Not working: Unemployment	,264	,275	1,302	,177	,807	1,194	,492	,511	1,636
Not working: any other reason <sup>53</sup>	-,676	<b>,008</b>	,509	-1,726	,129	,178	,667	,607	1,948
<b>Using Internet (Yes=1)</b>	-,392	<b>,007</b>	,676	-,845	,158	,430	-,689	,232	,502
<b>Speaking foreign language (Yes=1)</b>	-,180	,209	,835	,231	,730	1,260	,066	,919	1,068
<b>Age Group ***</b>		<b>,025</b>			,261			,730	
30-55	-,392	<b>,034</b>	,676	-,962	,378	,382	-,413	,694	,662
Over 55	-,643	<b>,007</b>	,526	1,813	,177	6,126	,023	,985	1,023
Constant	,766	,004	2,151	,397	,788	1,487	1,436	,270	4,203
-2Log Likelihood. initial	2025.052			144.342			140.375		
-2Log Likelihood. model	1969.174			111.641			115.320		
Model Chi-square	55.878			32.701			25.054		
Degree of freedom	11			11			11		
Significance	0.00			0.01			0.021		
Nagelkerke R Square	0.050			0.337			0.259		

\*Reference Category = Maximum Completed Primary School; \*\*Reference category = Not working: Retired;

\*\*\*Reference Category = under 30

Recoding of variables: Values between 1 and 6 were recoded into 0. Value 7 was recoded into 1 in order to apply the recoded variable as a dependent variable in the logistic regression model<sup>54</sup>

The first observation to be made from the table above is that much more dependent variables have significant effect in the representative survey than in the small groups. In the

<sup>52</sup> The analysis of logistic regression are based on the odds ration Exp(B). An odds ratio indicates the likelihood that a specific indicator or scale is associated with a behavior occurring or not occurring. If the odds ratio is larger than 1, then it indicates that it is likely that the indicator is associated with the occurrence of the outcome variable. If the odds ratio is smaller than 1, then it indicates that is likely that the indicator will be associated with the non-occurrence of the outcome variable.

<sup>53</sup> Those people belong to that category mostly who are students or are on maternity leave.

<sup>54</sup> The method of recoding was chosen according to the mean and the distribution of the variable.

representative sample the effect of using internet prefer the liberalization of the labour market. It has been also observed that those who have tertiary degree prefer the liberalization of the labour market in comparison with the reference groups in T3 session. It seems those who have more cultural capital are more likely to support the deregulation of the labour market. This finding corresponds with our expectation. Surprisingly most of the oldest age group (over 55) supports the liberalization of the labour market in T1 session. The author supposes the explanation must be that the labour market status of the youngest age group (under 30) is the most uncertain. They might not have obtained enough experience due to their age. The members of the oldest age group must be retired so they do not have to take any risk if they support the liberalization of the labour market. The same mechanism can be found behind the fact that those who are not working any other reason (mostly students or are on maternity leave) support mostly the liberalization of the labour market, which is eliminated in T3 session. In the pre-deliberation group there is one variable whose effect was significant: the gender. Women seem to object to the liberalization as compared to men. After the deliberation group the only variable was found significant was the educational level: those who completed higher education support the liberalization of the labour market most.

### Unemployment cannot be avoided vs. should be avoided at any cost

We are going to discuss what people think about the unemployment issue: it cannot be totally avoided or it should be avoided at any cost. The respondents had to tell how much they agree with the given statements. The first degree means that the respondent totally agrees with the following statement: *Unemployment cannot be totally avoided*. The seventh (last) degree means that the respondent totally agrees with the following statement: *Unemployment should be avoided at any cost*. The other degrees show the relation to the statements. The results of each questioning sessions are shown in table 5.

**Table 3.**

*What do people think: unemployment cannot be totally avoided vs. unemployment should be avoided at any cost? - Measured on a 7 degree scale*

1-7 degree scale %	Unemployment cannot be totally avoided. (1-3)	The middle of the scale (4)	Unemployment should be avoided at any cost. (5-7)	Mean
In the survey research	37%	18,7%	44,3%	4,17
Pre-deliberation in the small groups	37%	15,7%	47,2%	4,15
Post- deliberation in the small groups	49,6%	13,7%	36,8%	3,52

T1 – T2: Statistically not significant change ( $t=1,004$ ,  $p>0,05$ )

T2 – T3: Statistically significant change ( $t=2,021$ ,  $p<0,05$ )

The deliberation triggered significant change in this issue as it can be seen in table 3. Both in the representative survey poll and the pre-deliberation sample 37% of the respondents thought that the unemployment cannot be avoided in the present environment of the economy. The ratio of those people who thought the unemployment cannot be avoided in the present circumstances increased to 50% in the post-deliberation poll.

This is such an important question because people lives have been organized by the work in the industrialized societies. However substantial changes have happened in many ways.

According to Claus Offe (1991) the developed countries entered new stage of the economy where the growth of the economy does not mean that everybody has job. The forms of flexible work are spreading (working in part time job, having temporary contract, self-employment) which predict that the essence of life should not be the work. It seems that the deliberation helped to understand that the deliberation weekend participants have to live together with the phenomenon of unemployment. The next table presents which social-demographic variables have significant effects?

**Table 4.**  
*Determinants of the probability of thinking whether the unemployment can be dissolved or not (Q17)*

Independent Variables	All N=1484 (1520)			Pre- Deliberative Poll N=107			Post- Deliberative Poll N=111		
	B	Sig.	Exp (B)	B	Sig.	Exp (B)	B	Sig.	Exp (B)
<b>Gender (Men=1)</b>	,248	<b>,026</b>	1,281	,867	,070	2,380	,363	,441	1,438
<b>Level of education*</b>		,366			,361			,668	
Vocational school	,250	,090	1,285	-,554	,368	,575	-,227	,706	,797
Completed Secondary General School	,106	,492	1,112	-1,111	,083	,329	-,540	,394	,582
Tertiary degree (BA or MA)	,032	,878	1,033	-1,085	,206	,338	-1,004	,236	,366
<b>Employment status**</b>		,649			,911			,139	
Working in full time	-,197	,291	,822	,263	,662	1,301	1,221	<b>,048</b>	3,390
Not working: Unemployment	-,156	,505	,856	,267	,690	1,306	,212	,760	1,236
Not working: any other reason <sup>55</sup>	-,017	,948	,984	-,331	,760	,718	1,667	,165	5,298
<b>Using Internet (No=1)</b>	-,153	,287	,858	,187	,738	1,206	,603	,300	1,827
<b>Speaking foreign language (No=1)</b>	-,443	<b>,002</b>	,642	-1,251	,069	,286	-1,043	,130	,353
<b>Age Group ****</b>		,197			,112			,220	
30-55	-,289	,110	,749	-1,997	,066	,136	1,687	,157	5,405
Over 55	-,396	,092	,673	-1,417	,242	,242	2,244	,086	9,430
Constant	,078	,767	1,081	1,784	,170	5,956	-2,688	,045	,068
-2Log Likelihood. initial	2037.744			148.100			147.247		
-2Log Likelihood. model	2007.478			130.776			131.785		
Model Chi-square	30.165			15.832			15.460		
Degree of freedom	11			11			11		
Significance	.001			.148			.162		
Nagelkerke R Square	.027			.184			.177		

\*Reference Category=Maximum Completed Primary School; \*\*Reference category = Not working: Retired permanent job; \*\*\*Reference Category = under 30

Recoding of variables: Values between 1 and 4 were recoded into 0. Values between 5 and 7 was recoded into 1 in order to apply the recoded variable as a dependent variable in the logistic regression model.<sup>56</sup>

Gender has significant effect in the representative sample After the deliberation the gender effect has been disappeared. Those who speak foreign language are more likely to believe that the unemployment cannot be totally avoided than those who do not speak foreign language in T1 but this difference also disappeared in T2 and T3. The employment status has significant effect in only post-deliberation group: those who are working in full time position are more

<sup>55</sup> Those people belong to that category mostly who are students or are on maternity leave.

<sup>56</sup> The method of recoding was chosen according to the mean and the distribution of the variable.



than three times likely to think that '*Unemployment cannot be totally avoided*' statement than the reference group.

## Employment policies

The employment policies are regulatory activities of the state to tackle unemployment. Theoretically employment policies are usually divided into two groups: active employment policies and passive employment policies. The aim of passive employment policies is to take care about those people who lost their jobs. On the contrary, the intention of the active employment policies is to help the unemployed to find a job.

First it was checked whether the theoretical structure of the employment policies (active and passive) exists in the minds of people in representative survey research. In the T1 and T2 interview sessions the factor analyses did not bring such results that the theoretical structure could be found in minds of people. However I found a factor structure (active and passive employment policies) in the post-deliberative session. It is supposed that the existence of theoretical structure in the post-deliberation session is due to that the moderators aggregated the employment policies several times during the deliberation, so people learn about the employment policies during the deliberation. The results of T3 interview is shown in table 5.

**Table 5.**

*The grouping of the employment policies in the post-deliberation group*

How strongly would you favour or oppose each of the following as ways of dealing with unemployment?	Factors	
	Active Policies	Passive Policies
Labour market services	<b>,681</b>	,055
Training support	<b>,834</b>	,002
Wage-and contribution-type subsidies <sup>57</sup>	<b>,555</b>	<b>,317</b>
Support for self-employment	<b>,282</b>	,162
Job search allowance and benefit	,111	<b>,777</b>
Regular social aid	,149	<b>,879</b>

▪ Maximum Likelihood factor analyses, with Varimax rotation

▪ KMO indicator value:0,650,

▪ Bartlett test value: 144,975; Sig. 0,00

▪ This question was measured by on a 5 degree scale where the first degree means *oppose it strongly* and fifth degree means *favour it strongly*.

We can see that there are two factors in table 5. One of the factors includes the following items: labour market services, training support, support for self-employment. The mentioned policies belong to the active employment policies so we call it *Active Policies* factor. The other factor includes the following items: the job search allowance and the benefit and the regular social aid. The two mentioned items belong to the passive employment policies so we called it as *Passive Policies* factor. Table 6. presents which social-demographic groups prefer the applying of the active and the applying of passive policies.

<sup>57</sup> The only item, which is part of both of dimensions, is the wage and contribution subsidiaries. It can be assumed that it is hard to understand phrase and confused the participants



**Table 6.***Effects of dependents variables on choosing between active and passive employment policies*

Independent variables	Mean of the Active employment policies in the post-deliberation session	Mean of the Passive employment policies in the post-deliberation session
Gender		
Men	<b>0160243*</b>	<b>-,0745066*</b>
Women	<b>-,0121785*</b>	<b>,0566250*</b>
Age group		
Under 30	,0458470	,6137456
30-55	,1489792	,1232090
Over 55	-,1593003	-,2025254
Educational level		
Max completed primary schools	-,1194293	,1172068
Vocational school	,1568382	,0234950
Grammar school	,0346563	,0869121
Tertiary school	-,3193728	-,4701077
Employment status		
Having job	-,0882782	<b>,0252327*</b>
Unemployed	,2053722	<b>,5046878*</b>
Retired	-,0731706	<b>-,2320810*</b>
Not working for any other reason	,2923586	<b>,1865640*</b>
Using internet		
Yes	,1209967	-,0440701
No	-,0772680	,0055342
Speaking forein language		
Yes	,1914047	,0547550
No	-,0415927	-,0183208

\*Statistically significant change (  $p < 0,005$ )

It can be seen that the gender and the employment status have significant effects. The unemployed support the passive employment policies in the most. The author supposes the reason for that is that they need this kind of support the most. The pensioners object to the passive policies the most because they are sure that they do not need this kind of support. As for the gender effect: men are more likely to support the active policies than women, whilst women are more likely to support the passive policies than men. The results are proved the second hypotheses.

### **Liquidation vs. toleration of illegal work<sup>58</sup>**

If the labour market is regulated too rigidly and the cost of hiring or laying off is too high while the supervision of the labour market is weak it could happen that people would be employed without paying taxes. The issue of illegal work is very relevant in Hungary because the main problem is not the high unemployment rate but the low activity rate (the number of legally employed people). With its 53,7% activity rate among 15-64 years old population Hungary lags behind the EU members where the mean of the activity rate is 64,5%.

<sup>58</sup> Illegal work means that the taxes and social insurance are not paid.

The following question concerns what people think about illegal work on which the taxes are not paid. This question was measured on a seven degree scale. The first degree means the respondent strongly agrees with the following statement: *Government should prevent all illegal work*. The seventh degree means the respondent strongly agrees with the following statement: *Government should not do anything against illegal work*. The results of each questioning sessions are shown in table 9.

**Table 7.**

*What do people think: Government should prevent all illegal work vs Government should not do anything against illegal work? - Measured on a 7 degree scale*

1-7 degree scale %	Government should prevent all illegal work (1-3)	The middle of the scale (4)	Government should not do anything against illegal work (5-7)	Mean
In the survey research	61,8%	18,3%	19,8%	2,78
Pre-deliberation in the small groups	65,4%	20,2%	14,4%	2,61
Post-deliberation in the small groups	64,6%	20,4%	15%	2,57

T1 – T2: Statistically not significant change ( $t=-0,932$ ,  $p>0,05$ )

T2 – T3: Statistically not significant change ( $t=0,292$ ,  $p>0,05$ )

The deliberation did not bring any significant change in this issue as we can see in table 7. In all three sessions more than 60% of people said that the Government should prevent all illegal work and less than 20% declared that Government should not do anything against illegal work. Next, table 8. shows which social-demographic variables have significant effects on choosing one of the statements.

**Table 8.**

*Determinants of the probability of agreeing with “Government should prevent all illegal work” vs. “Government should no do anything against illegal work.”*

Independent Variables	All N=1455 (1520)			Pre -Deliberative Poll N=103			Post -Deliberative Poll N=107		
	B	Sig.	Exp (B)	B	Sig.	Exp (B)	B	Sig.	Exp (B)
Gender (Men=1)	,132	,241	1,141	-,401	,411	,670	,093	,845	1,098
Level of education*		,019			,890			,270	
Vocational school	,368	,014	1,445	-,457	,453	,633	-,286	,646	,751
Completed Secondary General School	-,026	,871	,975	-,179	,779	,836	,502	,430	1,652
Tertiary degree (BA or MA)	-,108	,612	,898	-,391	,646	,677	-,854	,329	,426
Employment status**		,370			,227			,170	
Working in full time	,206	,273	1,229	-1,184	,079	,306	-,599	,358	,549
Not working: Unemployment	,415	,077	1,515	-,287	,675	,751	,787	,246	2,196
Not working: any other reason <sup>59</sup>	,188	,462	1,207	,352	,741	1,422	1,160	,326	3,190

<sup>59</sup> Those people belong to that category mostly who are students or are on maternity leave.

	All N=1455 (1520)			Pre -Deliberative Poll N=103			Post -Deliberative Poll N=107		
Independent Variables	B	Sig.	Exp (B)	B	Sig.	Exp (B)	B	Sig.	Exp (B)
Using Internet (No=1)	-,091	,533	,913	,836	,144	2,306	,332	,563	1,393
Speaking foreign language (No=1)	,059	,681	1,061	-1,358	,044	,257	-,582	,363	,559
Age Group ****		,013			,515			,106	
30-55	-,462	,011	,630	-,311	,734	,733	-2,286	,061	,102
Over 55	-,656	,005	,519	-,966	,367	,381	-1,596	,221	,203
Constant	-,050	,851	,951	,980	,378	2,664	1,397	,284	4,044
-2Log Likelihood. initial	1996.915			139.264			145.621		
-2Log Likelihood. model	1952.339			128.509			128.070		
Model Chi-square	44.576			10.755			17.551		
Degree of freedom	11			11			11		
Significance	.000			.464			.093		
Nagelkerke R Square	.040			.134			.203		

\*Reference Category=Maximum Completed Primary School; \*\*Reference category = Not working; Retired;  
\*\*\*Reference Category = under 30

Recoding of variables: Values between 1 and 3 were recoded into 0. Values between 4 and 7 was recoded into 1 in order to apply the recoded variable as a dependent variable in the logistic regression modell.<sup>60</sup>

The first observation to be made from the table above is that gender does not influence the answers of the participants in any interview period. Although the educational background was significant effect in T1 period: those who completed vocational school are more likely to agree '*Government should no do anything against illegal work*' statement than the reference group. Regarding age, those who are over 55 are more likely to agree with '*government should prevent all illegal work*' statement than young people in the representative sample. We can notice fewer variables have significant effect in the small groups than in the representative sample. In the pre-deliberation session only the speaking foreign language have significant effect on the dependent variables. Those who speak foreign language are more likely to agree with '*Government should prevent all illegal work*' statement than those who do not speak any foreign language. The third hypothesis has been confirmed by these results. There is not any variable which ha significant effect in the post-deliberation group. We can draw the conclusion that working illegally is a defensive strategy of people whose status is unfavorable in the society in Hungary.

### **Government should cut taxes vs. spend more on education, health care and pension**

Hungary is among those countries where the tax rates are high. The tax awareness is very low and people do not know too much about the tax system. In addition, the voters perceive the state role in social sector and the cost of the state program wrongly in Hungary (Csontos – Kornai – Tóth, 1996.). For example the majority underestimate the cost of pension and medical service whilst they overestimate the cost of the social benefits. Sometimes they do not feel the relationship between social benefit and the tax rate. This question examined what people think what the government should do: decrease taxes vs. should spend more on education, health care and pension. The respondents had to tell in what extent they agree with the given statement on a seven degree scale. The first degree signifies that the respondent totally agrees with the following statement: *Government should decrease taxes even if this means less funding for education, health care and pension*. The seventh degree means that

<sup>60</sup> The method of recoding was chosen according to the mean and the distribution of the variable.

somebody totally agrees with the following statement: *Government should spend more on education, health care and pension.* The results of each questioning sessions are shown in table 9.

**Table 9.**

*What do people think: Government should cut taxes vs. Government should no spend more on education, health care and pension?- Measured on a 7 degree scale.*

1-7 degree scale %	Government should decrease taxes even if this means less funding for education, health care and pension. (1-3)	The middle of the scale (4)	Government should spend more on education, health care and pension. (5-7)	Mean
In the survey research	39,2%	34,9%	25,9%	3,61
Pre-deliberation in the small groups	30,5%	34,3%	35,2%	4,14
Post-deliberation in the small groups	29,8%	35,6%	34,6%	4,14

T1 – T2: Statistically significant change ( $t=-2,717$ ,  $p<0,05$ )

T2 – T3: Statistically not significant change ( $t=-0,457$ ,  $p>0,05$ )

The table 9 presents that there is significant differences between T1 and T2 sessions. Although the deliberation did not bring any significant change in this issue as we can see in table 11. In Both pre- and post- deliberation small groups around 30% of people said that the decrease taxes even if this means less funding for education, health care and pension. And 35% declared that Government should spend more on education, health care and pension. It is surprising that the deliberation did not bring any significant changes because the most important result of an earlier research (Csontos – Kornai – Tóth, 1996.) about the tax awareness was that if the citizens know more about the cost of the state programs they will change their opinion about the state role. They would prefer to decrease the state role and would emphasize more the role of the market.

The differences between T1 and T2 might be due to the composition effect and/or the briefing materials. The composition effect can be excluded by focusing the analyses for those people who took part in the small group conservation (table 10.)

**Table 10.**

*What do people think: Government should cut taxes vs. Government should no spend more on education, health care and pension?- Measured on a 7 degree scale. (Focusing only those who participated in small group as well)*

1-7 degree scale %	Government should decrease taxes even if this means less funding for education, health care and pension. (1-3)	The middle of the scale (4)	Government should spend more on education, health care and pension. (5-7)	Mean
In the survey research	46,2%	27,4%	26,4%	3,36
Pre-deliberation in the small groups	29,4%	35,3%	36,4%	4,16

T1 – T2: Statistically significant change ( $t=-2,826$ ,  $p<0,05$ )

In table 10 the component effect has been excluded because the answers of the same people can be found there. Although the significant differences between T1 and T2 has remained. Consequently it is assumed that the variance is caused by the briefing materials. Table 11 shows which social-demographic variables have significant effects on choosing one of the statements.

**Table 11.**  
*Determinants of the probability of agreeing with “Government should decrease the taxes versus should increase the tax” (Q19)*

	All N=1416 (1520)			Pre- Deliberative Poll N=104			Post- Deliberative Poll N=102		
Independent Variables	B	Sig.	Exp(B)	B	Sig.	Exp (B)	B	Sig.	Exp (B)
<b>Gender (Men=1)</b>	,205	,112	1,228	,852	,146	2,344	1,079	,058	2,943
<b>Level of education*</b>		,321			,019			,031	
Vocational school	-,283	,101	,753	-,554	,436	,575	,494	,455	1,640
Completed Secondary General School	-,087	,622	,917	-2,498	,003	,082	-1,702	,026	,182
Tertiary degree (BA or MA)	,049	,834	1,050	-1,801	,066	,165	-,552	,544	,576
<b>Employment status**</b>		,544			,095			,136	
Working in full time	-,289	,178	,749	,171	,795	1,186	,549	,394	1,731
Not working: Unemployment	-,280	,307	,756	-2,614	,023	,073	-1,591	,080	,204
Not working: any other reason <sup>61</sup>	-,357	,221	,700	,517	,679	1,677	-,295	,798	,744
<b>Using Internet (No=1)</b>	,018	,915	1,018	-,040	,953	,960	-,380	,548	,684
<b>Speaking foreign language (No=1)</b>	-,003	,985	,997	-,474	,569	,623	,580	,421	1,786
<b>Age Group ****</b>		,340			,423			,262	
30-55	-,295	,157	,745	,613	,649	1,845	-1,002	,352	,367
Over 55	-,170	,525	,844	1,386	,336	3,999	-,084	,944	,920
Constant	-,709	,018	,492	-,638	,648	,529	-,280	,816	,756
-2Log Likelihood. initial	1624.609			134.177			131.202		
-2Log Likelihood. model	1604.400			100.998			108.788		
Model Chi-square	18,163			33.628			22.404		
Degree of freedom	11			11			11		
Significance	.078			.000			.021		
Nagelkerke R Square	.019			.381			.272		

\*Reference Category = Maximum Completed Primary School; \*\*Reference category = Not working: Retired

\*\*\*Reference Category = under 30

Recoding of variables: Values between 1 and 3 were recoded into 0. Values between 4 and 7 was recoded into 1 in order to apply the recoded variable as a dependent variable in the logistic regression modell.<sup>62</sup>

Astonishingly none of the independent variables have significant effect in the representative sample. In the small groups almost the same variables have significant effect: those who completed secondary general school think mostly that the Government should decrease the tax in comparison with reference group. The unemployed more likely to agree with that the government should decrease the taxes than the reference group in T2 session.

### ***Qualitative Analysis***

*I conducted a qualitative analysis based on two groups<sup>63</sup> conversations (10 and 14 groups). There were 4 pensioners, 1 employee and 1 student in group number 10. As for gender there*

<sup>61</sup> Those people belong to that category mostly who are students or are on maternity leave.

<sup>62</sup> The method of recoding was chosen according to the mean and the distribution of the variable.

were 2 men and 4 women. In the other group (group number 14) there were 1 unemployed, 1 mother on maternity leave, 1 employee, 2 pensioners and 1 disabled pensioner. According to gender there were 1 man and 5 women.

In group number 14 the moderator asked participants directly how the state regulated the labor market, if they liked strong or weak state influence in the labour market. It seems that the participants are aware of the fact that the strong state influence restricts the labour market while the weak state influence makes the employees defenseless. The participants think the state role should be somewhere in between. They also understand the operation of the tax system. From both of the groups there are some people who are against the high tax rate which makes the situation of entrepreneurs difficult: „There are a lot of forced entrepreneurs who are almost up to their neck in taxes. Less tax should be imposed” (group number 10) At the same time they realize that the missing amount should be supplied from other areas: „The state has to take money from somewhere in order to decrease the tax rate; money must be taken from where it is wasted”. (Group number 14)

The participants emphasized the safety of workplace. This is what they miss on many levels, first of all in the training: People should be trained (given such a profession) so that they can also find a job in 5 to 10 years (Group number 10). At the same time we speak a lot about life-long learning the essence of which is that people must continuously invest in their human capital in order to stay competitive in the labour market.

Those expectations that people get such knowledge in public schools which guarantee them to find a job decades after they left school, without trying to obtain new skills or qualifications continuously required by the labour market, are not realistic. This is proved by the fact that among low educated people the activity rate is very low since the required skills by the labour market (for example: ready to study) are missing. The following reaction of an unemployed woman is an example of that. An unemployed woman in group number 14 was asked if she attended retraining program supported by the job center. The woman answered that: „I have not learned for 30 years; I am afraid, it might not be able to” (Group number 14). The negative opinion about training and education makes the situation worse. They believe that it is not worth learning and obtaining higher education level since the situations of highly educated people are more difficult: „Even those who have qualifications cannot get a job. Even more, people with more than one degree are not wanted by the labour market.”. (Group number 10)

We are over the society of work (Offe, 1991; Beck, 1999) which means it is not sure that everybody can find a job therefore we do not let the individuals be judged by their work. We should not let the society be split in two parts: the majority has job according to the traditional norms and the remarkable minority who are out of the labour market. Although the participants value the work as they regard it as the essence of life: „It is not good if people live without work and they do not have job opportunities” (group number 14).

They miss the safety of workplaces: „The employers get support if they employ unemployed people but they will just employ them until they get the support for them then they are going to fire them. It is not worth doing this procedure. The employee will not invest anything in their skills. Why do employees train themselves? This is not a long-term, calculable job opportunity. The employers should employ the employees for at least 5 years so the

---

<sup>63</sup> I choose 10<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> groups for analysing

employees would be safe for at least 5 years, in this case they would be able to plan". (group number 10) *Although the only solution for the people to find or to keep their jobs is to be ready to adapt to the new situations (job, position and environment changing). The project work is getting to come to the front which means employees get temporary job contracts. It seems that most people are not ready for the flexible employment yet.*

*The participants are not against the illegal work, even more they commiserate with the illegal worker: „People accept illegal job because they have to live on something" (group number 10) At the same time they do not feel the same solidarity with the employers. They believe the employers are the beneficiaries of the illegal work by tax evasion: „The employers are always searching for loopholes .You are (employee) defenseless but you have to undertake this game" (Group number 14). They emphasized that the defenseless position forces employees to accept illegal work: „You know this is not correct but you do not have any other choice". (Group number 14) In accordance with quantitative analysis, we can find that those people use the illegal sector who are in unfavorable position in society.*

## Summary

Our first hypothesis was proved partly. Those who possess more cultural capital (higher education, access to the internet) are more likely to support the deregulation of the labor market: concerning the educational level those who completed tertiary school are more likely to agree with the deregulation of the labour market than the lower educated. The fact that the older people are more likely to agree with the liberalization of labour market than the young, was exactly the opposite of what the author had expected. The author thinks this is due to the fact that those who are over 55 mostly are out of the labour market. Thus if the labour market were more deregulated than in the present, this would not mean any uncertainty for them, this would mean uncertainty only for people of active age. The effect of gender and speaking foreign language were not significant.

Our hypothesis concerning the employment policies also was justified partly. We could find the theoretical structure in the post-deliberation group. We could prove that the women and the unemployed are more likely to support passive employment policies than men and those who are on the labour market. The pensioner is the group which opposes the passive employment policies the most. One explanation can be that they might be afraid that the bigger support for the unemployed would decrease their benefits. The effect of other independent variables (using internet, speaking foreign language, education level, and age group) was not significant.

Our hypothesis regarding illegal work was justified. Concerning the effect of educational level we found that those who completed vocational school are more tolerant with the illegal work than other educational groups. The effect of other independent variables (using internet, speaking foreign language, employment status) was not significant.

Our fourth hypotheses was not verified entirely either. I found that the pensioners do not want to cut the tax rate. The effect of completed secondary general school became significant: they are more likely to want to decrease the taxes in T2 and T3 sessions. The unemployed want to the taxes more than the reference group.. The effect of other independent variables (speaking foreign language, gender, age groups) was not significant.



We got the same results from the qualitative analyses. We have not found any contradictions between the results of the qualitative and quantitative research.

## REFERENCES

Beck, Ulrich (1999) Túl renden és osztályon? In. Angelusz Róbert (szerk.): *A társadalmi rétegződés komponensei*. Új Mandátum Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 1999.

Csontos László – Kornai János – Tóth István György (1996) Adótudatosság és fiskális illúziók. In. Társadalmi Riport 1996.

Dahrendorf (1994) A modern társadalmi konfliktus. Gondolat Kiadó, Budapest 1994.

Ferge Zsuzsa (1996) A rendszerváltás megítélése. In. *Szociológiai Szemle* 1996/1.

Girasek Edmond – Sík Endre (2006) Munkaerőpiac és informális jövedelem. In. Társadalmi Riport 2006.

Laky Teréz (2002) Munkaerőpiaci tükör Magyarországn 2001-ben. In Fazekas Károly et. al. *Munkaerőpiaci Tükör 2002*. MTA Közgazdaságtudományi Kutatóközpont, Országos Foglalkoztatási Közalapítvány, Budapest, 2002.

Offe, Claus (1991) A szociális állam és a foglalkoztatási válság: a biztosítás biztosításának problémái. In. Ferge Zs. – Lévai K. (szerk.): *A jóléti állam*. T – Twins Kiadó, Budapest, 1991.

Sági Matild: *Társadalmi folyamatok a rendszerváltás után*. Budapest, Országos Közoktatási Intézet, 1997. <http://www.oki.hu/oldal.php?tipus=cikk&kod=Jelentes97-hatter-Sagi-Tarsadalmi> downloaded: 10/17/2008

Spéder Zsolt (2002) A szegénység változó arcai. Századvég Kiadó, Budapest, 2002.

Summary of the Results – Deliberative Poll about Unemployment and Job Creation in the Area of Kaposvár, 2008.

Utasi Ágnes (2008) Éltető kapcsolatok. Új Mandátum Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 2008.

**Tardos Katalin CSc**

### **Társadalmi befogadás és felelősségvállalás a vállalati szférában**

Ebben a tanulmányban két olyan jelenséggel foglalkozom, amellyel általában külön-külön szoktak foglalkozni a szerzők, az egyik ilyen jelenség a társadalmi befogadás és esélyegyenlőség a munkahelyeken, a másik a vállalatok társadalmi felelősségvállalásának (CSR) alakulása Magyarországon. Tanulmányom központi kérdése, hogy milyen összefüggés található a magyarországi munkáltatói szervezeteknél a társadalmi felelősségvállalás és a társadalmi befogadás szintje között. Másképpen fogalmazva, vajon a manapság társadalmilag felelősként definiált vállalatok a társadalmi befogadás szempontjából is előremutató gyakorlatot képviselnek-e, elősegítik-e hogy a szervezeten belül az egyenlő bánásmód jogi minimum követelményén felül a kisebbségben lévő és/vagy hátrányos helyzetű csoportok